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the reality; (*b*) that natural laws are regulative conceptions and not eternal entities; (*c*) even though it were granted that social forces were apprehensions of such entities, we should still have no right to set up a co-ordinate factor in reality as the determining whole. And this is done most certainly when we set up the moral order of society as the God of the universe.

What remains? This, I take it: for a purely scientific point of view the way to a satisfactory demonstration of religion is blocked. Religion and the Christian Religion, as viewed by science, reduce to ethics. So reduced, they vanish as religion. Is this all? By no means. There remains the possibility that, from a world-view, reality may not appear other than personal in the full sense of the term, as it is employed in the Christian conception of God. Should such a possibility turn out to be an actuality, religion and the Christian religion would re-emerge as a conscious possession which had justified its right to the field which it would possess. This, however, is the rough and thorny road of philosophy, and leads us through the dry fields of abstract metaphysics. Along this road and through these fields the "enlightened leaders of religious and Christian thought" must pass, if they would place their beliefs upon a satisfactory footing.

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JOHN CALVIN

THE second volume of the great work on Calvin by Doumergue¹ meets the highest expectations of those who found such complete satisfaction in the first. It is taken up with a discussion of Calvin's first endeavors. While the first volume contained 634 pages, the second contains 815 pages. It is divided into five books, as follows: I, "Calvin in Italy;" II, "Calvin at Geneva—His First Sojourn;" III, "Calvin at Strasburg;" IV, "Calvin in Germany;" V, "The Return of Calvin to Geneva."

All through the work the classical school of history, as represented by Bonnet and Merle d'Aubigné, is set over against the documentary school, as represented by Albert Killiet, Fontana, Lecoultre, and Cornelius.

We have seen that Calvin visited Italy. How long did he remain?

¹*Jean Calvin. Les hommes et les choses de son temps.* Par E. DOUMERGUE. Tome II: "Les premiers essais." Lausanne: Bridel & C^{ie}, 1902. xii + 815 pages, Fr. 30.

The classical school maintains that he remained about a year ; the documentary school shortens the time to about three months. Doumergue goes into a careful examination of the evidence, which comes principally from three editions of Beza's life of Calvin, and makes the sojourn about two months.

A second question is : Why did he go to Italy? D'Aubigné says :

One reason was that he wanted to meet Renée, duchess of Ferrara, a princess of exemplary virtue. But what thoughts occupied his mind? Was it a question of a council? Having seen Vergerius transferred to Germany to sustain the dominion of the pope, did he wish to be transferred from Switzerland to Italy to combat this dominion? Or was he attracted by the almost evangelical reputation of Contarini, Sadolet, and other prelates, and did he wish to meet them? Did he propose to see the papacy close at hand, and, like Luther, to study its scandals and its abuses? Did he wish to preach the gospel in the same country where Paul had preached it? Or was he attracted by the classical memories of the literature and civilization of that illustrious country? There was, without doubt, something of all this in the mind of Calvin. He wished to pay his respects to the land of heroes, of martyrs, of letters, of Renée of Ferrara, and of the popes. Yet we cannot doubt that his chief thought was to inculcate the principles of the Reformation; to announce to Italy that Christ had destroyed sin and opened the way to the Heavenly Father to all souls who sought him. Thus animated, our reformer, like Hannibal in earlier times, scaled the almost inaccessible heights of the Alps and pushed on toward that land which was soon to be drenched with the blood of the men of the Reformation.

This long quotation shows the strength and the weakness of the classical school. But really, how much of it is confirmed by the documents? Nothing, absolutely nothing, says the documentary school. What, then, do the documents teach us? Simply this: The young man who is crossing the Alps is the author of the *Christian Institutions*, which at this very moment is being read with astonishment, mingled with admiration and indignation, in all France and Germany. The dedication to Francis I. and the body of the work make the most effective weapon yet forged against the papacy, and consequently in favor of Protestantism. One may well ask whether Hannibal nourished a more deadly hatred against Rome than Calvin did against Romanism. Now, with a head and heart full of such sentiments, what must have been his emotions when he first looked upon the plains of Italy, where stood erect Babylon the harlot, bathing herself in the blood of the martyrs? Is it possible that he did not tremble when he first put his foot upon that soil where reigned the enemy which he had devoted his life to

combat, and where, if he were discovered, he would be taken to punishment? "Thus much," says Doumergue, "is warranted by the documents, and this is enough."

It is probable that Calvin took the shorter route in crossing the Alps and went through Venetia. His first halting-place was Ferrara. Doumergue goes into a minute and vivid description of the country through which he passed—the plains, the peasants with their peculiar costumes, the oxen with their immense curving horns. Ferrara at this time was a city of over 60,000 inhabitants. He shows us the town, with its picturesque streets and palaces, its piazza, and its cathedral, which arouses Ferrarese enthusiasm. One of the most interesting places is the house where Savonarola was born. A slab in the wall bears this inscription: "In this paternal house the first twenty-one years of his life were passed by Girolamo Savonarola—born September 21, 1452; burned at Florence 1498."

Calvin found a lodging-place in the palace of Este. His gate is pointed out, and the stairway leading to his chamber. From this retreat he wrote two letters—one to Duchemin, and the other to Gerard Roussel. These two letters are all that we have, but they are quite sufficient to reveal to us the state of the author's mind. The first was to Duchemin, under the title: "How necessary it is to flee from the papal ceremonies and superstitions to the observances of the Christian religion." Duchemin had asked Calvin for information, and this letter was the answer. A few extracts will show its author's point of view:

The Catholic church is that Egypt where so many monsters, idols, and idolatries are found; and where so many detestable sacrileges, pollutions, and filthinesses swarm. There is only one way to escape pollution. This way is to resist its beginnings, and never even contemplate it; for if we allow ourselves to contemplate it, we have already passed over its boundaries. True piety engenders true confession. Everything is here, and it is necessary to hold fast to it.

He then begins his attack on Roman ceremonies:

1. The gifts thrown into the box for indulgences:

Those who give or receive by the very act approve and consent to the detestable evil. The vulgar and common excuse that it is necessary to do something to appease the rage of the priests, and that this can be done with a piece of money great or small, is like the argument of one who throws a morsel into the mouth of a dangerous beast.

2. The holy water:

Finally, those who take the holy water consecrated by the diabolical

enchantments of the priest—do they dare to argue that they do it with impunity?

3. The mass. But it is, above all, against the mass that Calvin centers his attack :

Let us consider for a little what it means to assist at the mysteries of the mass. When they come to it, they forget that they came there to be the spectators of a horrible tragedy. Moreover, no one can deny that this sacrifice abolishes entirely the cross of Christ. These two points alone are sufficient to condemn the mass. But it is abominable idolatry when they pretend to think that the bread is God. It does not follow, however, if the Lord gives his body to the faithful who religiously adore the memory of his death, that he also gives himself to the beastly and infamous priests to be sacrificed and put to death whenever it may please them, unless perhaps we think there is some virtue in that stinking oil with which the priest has been consecrated, and that it has rendered the hands which it has anointed able to form Christ ; or unless we imagine that a priest has the authority of a celestial decree, to the end that he may have Christ suddenly at his side whenever he may be pleased to call him down from heaven ; or unless we attribute to the words of Christ some magic virtue which, being appropriately mumbled, show their virtue and efficiency. It is evident, then, that this God whom the priest, by making himself ridiculous, turns and twists here and there about the altar, is not drawn down from heaven, as they wish to make us think, but is such as has come from the mill.

He closes this letter with an eloquent passage in which he urges that this cause is so fundamental that we should be willing to spill our blood or lose our lives for it, if this should be necessary ; for death is only a passage from a very short period of sorrow to an immortal life and a joyful repose.

Calvin had scarcely finished his first letter when he took up his pen to write another. He had met a great disappointment. Duchemin was only a layman, but he had another friend, Gerard Roussel, who was a pastor. In the earlier stages of the Reformation he had rendered valuable service. But now, notwithstanding the corruptions of the church so energetically stigmatized by his master, he had allowed himself to be named priest of Oberon. The letter shows that Calvin trembled with rage. He had called Duchemin "strong man for good," "dear friend," "special friend." But here his tone changes. He entitles his letter to Roussel: "John Calvin to a former friend, at present a prelate." Here is a specimen of the contents :

I treat you very mildly when I call you a homicide and a traitor. For here is a crime wretched and detestable above all others in that you every day sell and crucify the Son of God.

A very interesting account is given of Calvin's meeting with the duchess of Ferrara. He became the director of her conscience and this was the beginning of a friendship and correspondence that lasted during the reformer's lifetime. In this, as in all other respects, he was a prophet with a prophet's characteristics. He had no time for the superfluous or for light conversation. All was serious, dealing only with the essential, and the essential is the life of the soul.

He returned from Italy, as Doumergue thinks, through the valley of Aosta, and finally reached Geneva. The way had been prepared for him. The movement is called the Calvinistic Reformation, and very properly so, for Calvin was to the movement what the soul is to the body. It is impossible to separate them. Without Calvin, Geneva would not have been Geneva, and without Geneva, Calvin would not have been Calvin. The preparation at Geneva was at first negative, then negative and positive. It was at first political, then political and religious; but always as much political as religious. The one side helped the other along, but the whole movement advanced by an irresistible evolution, sometimes arrested, sometimes precipitated by accidents more or less dramatic. An exact knowledge of these events is absolutely necessary to a knowledge of Calvin's work at Geneva. Our author accordingly goes into a thorough discussion of the entire situation.

Farel had done a great work in the way of destruction, but the ardent, intrepid temperament, so useful in conquest, did not serve him equally well for organization. At the opportune moment, July, 1536, Calvin arrived in Geneva, intending to remain over night. He was discovered. "Hereupon," says he, "Farel, burning with a marvelous zeal to promote the gospel, put forth all his efforts to retain me." Farel laid before him the condition of the church, and begged him to remain and assist him in the arduous undertaking. Calvin was troubled by the appeal, but pleaded his plans, his inclinations, his tastes. Then Farel, quivering with a holy indignation, arose and, with a voice of thunder, said:

"In the name of the Almighty God, I declare to you: Your studies, if you refuse to devote yourself here with us to the work of the Lord, God will curse, because you seek your own good rather than Christ!"

These words [says Calvin] so terrified and overcame me that I gave up the journey . . . not so much on account of the counsel and exhortation, as on account of a terrible conviction that God had extended his hand over me to arrest me in my plans.

The biographer then goes on and describes in detail, and in all its relations, the great work upon which our reformer entered at this critical juncture. He follows his subject during his exile into Strasburg, and into Germany, describing at length the cities, and the men whom he meets. His views of the marriage relation came out in full, and the account of his marriage with Idelette de Bure, and of their pleasant life together, makes one of the most interesting sections of the book.

The question as to Calvin's attitude toward art is very convincingly treated. In a general way, the Reformation, and especially Calvinism, has been accused of destroying artistic development. According to Maimbourg, "Calvinism is only a skeleton of religion, having neither substance nor grace, nor ornament, nor anything which quickens and inspires devotion." Voltaire agreed with this Jesuit verdict in some lines which Doumergue quotes. But the surprising fact is that two recent Protestant writers have concurred in this opinion. Douen calls Calvinism "anti-liberal, anti-artistic, anti-human, and anti-Christian." M. Courtois declares that Calvin "nourished a holy horror of everything that looked like an intrusion of art into the domain of religion." Once more: M. Brunetière has taken up the same opinion in these words:

The hatred of art is one of the essential traits and characteristics of the spirit of the Reformation, and of the Calvinistic Reformation in particular.

It looks as if those who have brought these charges have either not read what Calvin has said upon the subject, or as if they had read only portions of what he said, and portions which, taken alone, would make him say exactly the opposite of what he meant. Doumergue gives numerous quotations which show conclusively that Calvin was not opposed either to the liberal or to the fine arts. He did not condemn pleasure. He granted to sculpture the right to represent men and beasts, and he recommended historical painting, the landscape, and the portrait.

As to music he says:

We know that the chant has great power to move and enkindle the heart of men to invoke and praise God with vehement and ardent zeal.

This he said in 1542. In 1545 he added:

Now, among other things which are proper to recreate man and *give him pleasure*, is music . . . and we are to understand that it is the gift of God bestowed for that purpose.

It is our conviction that when this work is completed it will equal, if not surpass, any biography that has yet appeared. Its method is to

be recommended without qualification. Just as anatomists are now studying the human body in regions, taking all the neighboring parts in their relations, instead of tracing each muscle, artery, vein, nerve, and bone separately, so in history we are coming to see that the study of one subject involves the study of many other subjects which at first appear to have no necessary connection with it. Doumergue expresses the idea in one short sentence: "My method is to proceed from the circumference to the center."

In our opinion, then, we have here a work to command our attention, not for weeks and months, but for years, and many years.

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NORTH-SEMITIC EPIGRAPHY AND ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO SEMITIC STUDY.

THE progress made in the field of Semitic epigraphy and the interest taken in these studies are best illustrated by the fact that, besides the comprehensive *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, we have now two excellent handbooks of North-Semitic epigraphy, one in German¹ and one in English.² The former gives a full bibliography (up to 1898), a history of the discoveries and decipherment, an introduction to the study of the monuments, a complete vocabulary and grammatical sketch, and finally a selection of inscriptions—all published in transliterations and facsimiles. The latter, which has just appeared, contains a carefully selected number of inscriptions, published all in transliterations, and to a very small extent in facsimiles, with translations and commentaries based on the faithful study of an immense literature; furthermore, reproductions of Aramaic, Phœnician, and Jewish coins and seals, with ample explanatory remarks; and, finally, six extremely useful indices, and an appendix which treats of two important documents discovered after the completion of the bulk of the book.

Mr. Cooke's work deserves to be most heartily welcomed by everybody interested in biblical, as well as in general Semitics, archæology, history, and languages. For, as we all know, these branches of knowledge depend to no small extent upon the study of documents carved

¹ *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik.* Von MARK LIDZBARSKI. Weimar, 1898.

² *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions.* By G. A. COOKE. Oxford, 1903.